

BLACK FLAG

30p

THE ANARCHIST

FORTNIGHTLY

10-3-'86



TNT HAS TO BE SMASHED

TWELVE MONTH PLANNING FOR TNT SCAB FLEET

We can reveal that Thomson Nationwide Transport, the scab haulage company that is aiding the print barons in their anti-union crusade, has colluded in the pre-planning for News International's move to Fortress Wapping in the twelve months prior to the move. There is strong evidence that TNT undertook contingency measures and was party to the scheme to sack the 5,500 print workers.

Details of TNT's involvement was leaked via the pages of the trade magazine, *Commercial Motor* where an article, entitled 'TNT's "Secret" Fleet', describes how the general hundred plain white trucks specially bought by TNT for the News International exercise was 'gathered over the past year'. The article goes on to say that the fleet is 'part of a new TNT newspaper section, code named Division 800, and that drivers all over the country are being recruited to drive them'. TNT's UK manager, Alan Jones, told *Commercial Motor*



Alan Jones
Are you loathsome tonight?

that TNT also hopes to recruit another 2,000 drivers to take on work for the other newspaper barons. The fleet itself consists of mainly C-registration Volkswagen LT45 vans. A list of TNT main depots follows.

TNT began putting the fleet together for Division 800 around the beginning of 1985, the fleet was developed secretly as the year progressed, and as Murdoch moved closer to his 'D' day.

TNT - THE MAFIA CONNECTION

The TNT conglomerate has tried often unsuccessfully, to steer a course away from political intrigue. TNT's chairman, Australian magnate Sir Peter Abeles, has gone to great pains to cultivate friendships with those on both the right and left of Australia's political spectrum. TNT now has business interests in virtually every part of the globe (see below), but despite its attempts to keep a low profile, its dealings with unions has not always had a smooth ride. In the USA, TNT's launch was very nearly a fiasco when it was met with a campaign of arson attacks bombings and violence. TNT was able to survive this campaign because of the links it cultivated not with the political mafia, but with the criminal mafia (no doubt they interconnect though!).

The violence ceased as soon as TNT paid the handsome sum of \$250,000 as a first instalment to mobster Venero 'benny Eggs' Mangano and Lawrence 'Buddy' Garaventi. This was not a simple case of 'protection' money but payments made, according to TNT (USA), for the 'services which the management of this group believe were in the interests of the group and were worth the monies paid for them'. The services alluded to were in reality a deal struck with mafia and officials of the right-wing and corrupt Teamsters Union to 'keep things cool'. In other words no wildcat strikes, no more violence (stage-managed by the mafia - controlled Teamsters), etc. Nor was the TNT-mafia connection simply a local one. Abeles himself was an acquaintance, for example, of Jimmy 'The Weasel' Fratianno, a member of the West Coast mafioso. Fratianno's link-man in the Teamsters was Rudy Tham, a Teamsters vice-president and close friend of TNT executive Peter Thomson. Tham was later jailed for embezzlement of Teamsters money. TNT's financing of the mafia has continued.

TNT - THE EMPIRE

TNT is a multi-national conglomerate with companies in most parts of the world. Its empire is expanding. In Britain it has around a dozen subsidiaries and has recently begun a new operation poaching mail contract work from the Royal Mail by flying out bulk shipments to Belgium and putting the mail through the Belgian postal service where casual, part-time and lower-paid young recruits are able to undercut costs; the consequence being that in several months time, thousands of postal workers in Britain might not have job security. This is a case of capitalism exploiting cheap labour on an international level, with unions unable to do much about it.

TNT expanded its business in Europe when it amalgamated with IPEC, freight-carriers. TNT-IPEC now has depots in most Western European countries and newspaper companies in those countries

Continues on page 4

SCAB BUSTERS

SEVERAL MILLION VACANCIES AT LEAST!



Due to an intensification of anti-working class activity and taking into account the current malaise within the trade unions to effectively combat this activity, a massive number of Scabusters are needed to turn the tide and help the labour movement to move on to the offensive once more.

MAIN RESPONSIBILITIES

To take direct action against all scabs, scab organisers and the property of scabs and scab organisers. To sabotage the activities of scabs and their organisers.

ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

Mass picketing, local picket support work, propaganda work, fund-raising, etc.

QUALIFICATIONS

None required. Just a belief in direct action and the desire to overthrow capitalism and destroy the State. Ability to work in small teams could be an advantage. Equipment (eg, pick-axe handles, molotovs, inflammables, etc.) should be self-supplied.

HOURS

Varied and probably anti-social. Little warning will be given as to when work is needed.

PAY

None. But rewards are high. Fringe benefits include experience in testing out new techniques, the opportunity, sometimes, of making new contacts.

TO APPLY

To no one in particular. Scabusters form their own local groups via friendship networks. They are responsible to each other and take orders from no one. They don't need leaders.

Scabusters is an equal opportunities network of class struggle groups dedicated to direct action.

SCAB BUSTERS
when solidarity lacks, we step in

advertisement

DIRTY DOZEN

Let us remind ourselves what Murdoch was demanding of the print workers before he sacked them.

1 No recognition of chapels or branches, and no negotiations at local level.

2 No strikes "or other industrial action for any reason whatever". The union must promptly repudiate any industrial action taken by members.

3 Immediate dismissal for anyone taking part in a strike or industrial action - with no right of appeal.

4 Union officials have "a special duty to enforce this section" of this agreement!

5 No closed shop - employees who are members of a union can leave it at any time.

6 Union representatives can be removed from office by the management issuing a written warning.

7 No union recognition for supervisors and management grades.

8 Complete flexibility of working with no demarcation lines.

9 No job security - complete freedom for management to change methods of working.

10 No minimum staffing levels - either by agreement or understanding. Management freedom to alter starting and finishing times at short notice.

11 Management's "exclusive right to manage" ... to select people for jobs, "classify and reclassify" people, "hire, promote, demote and transfer employees as required". They will also "suspend, discipline, dismiss, lay off employees from work" as they see fit.

12 Legally binding contracts, leaving the unions and individual union members open to court action.

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BLACK CROSS. 51 172 0009.

For the release of all political prisoners,
the relief of class war victims and the
overthrow of tyranny everywhere.
Smash the State! Anarchy is freedom.

BACK TO NORMALITY

Stamford, the village adjacent Hatfield Colliery was the scene of rioting on 25th January, reminiscent of the strike days.

Proof that simmering hatred for the police has just below the surface of 'normal' relations was seen in the numbers of police cars turned over and brick marks on the walls of the village police station.

The spark was a police car rolling up to the local pub 'The Fox', cops marching in like 'Starkey & Hutch' to lift a petty (and young) criminal. The lad father objected to the smash and grab raid, and in the meanwhile hatred of the presence of the forces of law and order started to well up. The lad father had by this time been belted by the police, and the balloons had gone.

First the cars were turned over, and then a rash made up of the shop cop. One old veteran of the strike, despite his walking stick, gave a good account of himself but was lifted in the process.

By midnight, forty-fifty police cars and vans were streaming into the village and the crowd of insurgents had spread from pub to pub and club to club, a full scale running battle was going on. By about 2.30am the fun was over and the cops were left meek among the village. Peace returns - not for long that's for sure!

ATTACKS ON WOMEN PEACE ACTIVISTS INCREASE

On December 8th, four women broke into RAF (USAF) Mildenhall and had in a maintenance hangar office. They were badly beaten up by US Security police. Said one woman: 'they seemed to have total joy killing, it was like a scene from Rambo... they came leaping across the tables, screaming, glass was flying everywhere'. The women were dragged out and spread on the grass, kicked, had their fingers twisted and one of them was kicked in the crutch. Another woman was picked up by the handcuffs, despite her screams of pain.

January 19th at Greenham Common, two women were attacked in their tents and brutally kicked. At Basingstoke Hospital they were treated for severe head and back injuries, and shock. Their analysts' description implies they were US servicemen.

Only last week, a woman caught throwing eggs at a Cruise transport came into the base, was stripped by police.

On the 11th of January, Son Pitman had her finger pulled off as she was being dragged from the fence around a new war bunker in Carmarthen, Wales.

SOURCE: Titanic



HOME NEWS

WAPPING NEWS

BUREAUCRATIC HICK UPS

As is obvious by now, the SOGAT/NGA bureaucracy cannot be relied on to run the strike for us. There have been instances of people being thrown off the picket line by stewards. However, a rank & file picket group has been formed and is organising real solidarity.

One character in particular to look out for is Mike Hicks. SOGAT/TUC bureaucrat he installs himself at every meeting/demo/picket he can, and megaphone in hand (to which no-one else has any access) proceeds to sabotage effective solidarity.

He was the chief steward on Access 24, 1985 who tried (and failed) to prevent solidarity with two Notts miners arrested on the London miners' march. On the Mayday march last year Hicks threatened violence from TUC heavies against a group of anarchists who would not get to the back of the march. He attempted to stop financial aid from the Feb 24 Defence Committee reaching people he considered 'agitators'. Hicks was amongst the TUC bureaucrats who pointed out 'trouble-makers' to the police on the film of the March 6 attack on chief scab Willis.

During the present dispute he has attempted to prevent the picket of Wapping in every way he can. On Saturday February 22, after haranguing the picket of one gate through his megaphone all night, he took a vote on whether to disband the picket just as lorries were about to go out. Even though the vote went unanimously against him, he led SOGAT members who would follow off the picket, thus splitting it in half and rendering it ineffective. The only good thing about this is that it incited doubters of people are losing what little trust they had in the bureaucracy. Clearly, it is up to rank and file printers, with the help of those who wish to give genuine solidarity, to organise effective solidarity.

Miners and supporters down in London for the campaign to free the scabs and jailed miners are expected to join the picket and a women's event at Wapping on March 8th. International women's day is to take place... A National march on the Wapping fortress will be on March 22nd. Build the mass picket! Every Saturday, Tower Hill tube, 7.30pm.

Details of actions coming up outside London are welcome and should be sent in as reports, or allow fourteen day publicity time please.

SABOTAGE TNT

Murdoch's papers are delivered to newspapers (by unmarked, usually white, transit vans) at about 5.00 am just before they open, giving just enough time for them to be stolen/damaged. Stealing and dumping them (but more time consuming) as it makes it look like distribution has failed.

The papers are left on the pavement wrapped or in white plastic bags. However it might be worth checking the Sun etc. are not hidden inside packages of other papers. This form of sabotage is easy and effective, but be careful, watchout!

ERNST & WHINNEY OCCUPIED!

Dear Black Flag,

Yesterday (20/2/86) there was an occupation of Ernst & Whinney, King St. Leeds 1, from 1 - 3.40pm. They are the firm of accountants responsible for the sequestration of SOGAT's funds.

The idea was suggested a few weeks ago at a meeting and the word put around the anarchist periphery, which meant we had a dozen occupiers inside, and a dozen outside to talk to the press.

No one was arrested, the accountants sent the police away - they wanted as little hassle as possible - despite that the news made *Calendar*, *Look*, *North*, *Radio Aire* and *Radio Leeds* news.

SOURCE: Leeds DAMIVA

BOYCOTT
THE NEWS OF THE WORLD

THE SUNDAY TIMES

WAPPING PICKETS

Thousands of print workers and supporters have been gathering nightly at mass pickets outside Rupert Murdoch's Fortress Wapping. On Wednesday Feb 19th, 3,000 pickets massed; the following Saturday, still more gathered.

The police were guarding all entrances to the plant, having learnt from the pickets described in *Black Flag* No.150 where scab vans were smashed. Some unguarded police buses had windows smashed, and at one point a scaffolding was tipped over, blocking a side road, after police had towed away parked cars to make a route for scab lorries.

There have been many arrests: up to forty on the Wednesday evening and more were to follow. Wednesday also saw cars overturned and police attacked. The next day two bus loads of print workers were prevented from attending a picket outside a distribution centre owned by Thomson Nationwide Transport (TNT), the multinational firm that is currently contracted to distribute the scab newspapers owned by Rupert Murdoch's News International company. As the planned picket was organised over the telephone, and not in writing, the police (as in the miners' strike) must have been 'tapping' the SOGAT and NGAs' telephones. This is always assumed, but is clearly now proved!

Solidarity actions are continuing. For example, in Ireland, where printers who are employed by Murdoch's Irish Press group have refused to print copies of the Irish edition of News International's *News of the World*.

On Saturday March 1st 1986, printers and supporters held two marches from Tower Hill tube station boosting pickets to five thousand. Lorries carrying scab papers were held up, delayed as police tried to clear the streets. Thirty-four of the pickets were arrested and some cops injured.

ARSONISTS AGAINST MURDOCH

Dear whoever,

Sunday 16th February, liberated the entire batch of Murdoch/scab papers from McColls Newspapers in Leeds. Burnt the lot! Here's a picture.

Hopefully, if the plan works out we'll have Murdoch in prison, on the next one.

ELECTRICIANS RALLY SUPPORTS SACRED PRINT WORKERS

On Saturday 22nd February, 150 - 200 Electricians, Electronic Telecommunications and Plumbers Union members rallied in support of the sacked printworkers. The meeting was called by *Flashlight*, the left faction within the EETPU.

Speeches were made from the floor by electricians angry that everyone sees the EETPU as a scab union, due to the connivings of the bureaucrats, headed by Eric Hammond. Group stewards from Southhampton said that the Wapping dispute had created interest and support from electricians who had shown no interest in union organisation up till then. Later, at Wapping, a number of electricians supported the picket line.

Meanwhile, as we go to press it has been made public that 180 electricians (earning £15,000 a year and bussed into Bruce Matthews) have sent a letter to Bruce Matthews, managing director of News International, calling for an 'honourable end to the dispute'. This follows Trades Union Congress directing the EETPU to inform its members scabbing at Wapping that they are doing the work of SOGAT & NGAs members who are in dispute. Whether they will in fact NOT CROSS PICKET LINES remains to be seen...

Dear Comrades,

It was a good humour at Wapping last Saturday (Feb. 8th), better than the week before, however, I guess most people had to get home by public transport etc. I'm not in the 'print' but I met a couple of SOGAT members from a part of London (Tooting) and they persuaded me to stay the night on the line. I'm glad I did, with about two hundred others, that great feeling of SOLIDARITY, and a brilliant atmosphere: intelligent conversations, laughter and joking and when the fleets of vans were going in and lining up in the compound (this happens all night), the bottles flew and the abuse shouted at the scabs openly showing themselves was wonderful. Anyway, all night we pulled up and hot soup, sandwiches, sausages, Scotch and comradeship were freely given by all sorts of people - no chance of going hungry or freezing to death there, brilliant! What I'd really like to say is obvious, DON'T GO HOME NEXT SATURDAY! STAY THE NIGHT - THAT'S WHEN THE ACTION HAPPENS! If comrades would stay the night we could make it happen, more than a 'nine-to-five' picket. We delayed the papers by an hour last Saturday, and there were only five thousand of us - imagine if the five thousand stayed the night - the cops resources would be fully stretched - it's worth it just for the atmosphere, an education in itself.

See you all on the line, Love,
Nick



ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

FRANCE

CONSCRIPTION? NO THANKS!

Christian Erigout
Christian Erigout was arrested in May '85 for refusing to be conscripted into the army. He was brought to trial on October 22, 1985, and received a prison sentence of nine months. He was to have been set free on December 10 after having served seven months of his nine month sentence. At eight o'clock on December 10, when he was in front of the Jacques Cartier jail in Rennes for Christian to be released. At nine o'clock, a prisoner who was also being let out that day informed us that Christian had been taken to the Foch armory at seven o'clock. In effect Christian was being held at the cophop after once again having refused conscription into the army.

At two o'clock he was in court again, charged with 'refusing to obey an order', but because he demanded a lawyer's presence the case was put off until January 14th.

However, the court was in a position of having to decide whether Christian would remain in prison until his trial date. After having judged that he would not be kept in prison until detention, the court wanted his hands of the affair by leaving him to the tender mercies of the army. Christian is now being held in strict detention in the Foch armory in Rennes until his trial date.

Translated from *Courant Alternatif* No. 52

Alain Souche
Alain Souche's trial date for having refused conscription and moved to Holland. He was active in the Amsterdam libertarian group and the Dutch anti-militarist Oukruit group. He was also involved in support for anti-conscription activities in France (such as the occupation of the French consulate). Through *Aviv de Recherche*, a support journal which was going through a period

of police and court harassment, he established going contact with a number of French draft dodgers. In 1981 Alain was notified that he was to be given amnesty.⁽¹⁾ In 1982 he returned to France.

In June 1985, Alain was stopped at a check-point on the Paris-Normandy highway and was taken into custody. He was informed that a search warrant had been issued for justice Hany on the first of April. After being kept for four days in Rouen, he was taken to Lyon and charged with having refused conscription before judge Hany. He is presently in army custody in Lyon.

At his trial on February 28, Alain will be facing a two month to one year jail sentence.

J.D.
Translated from *Le Monde Libertaire* No. 605 by M.W.

(1) When the Socialist government took power in 1981, most political prisoners received an amnesty (with the exception of most anarchist prisoners).

Note: We are expecting an update on the results of Christian's trial shortly.

BRUNO SANCHEZ

Bruno Sanchez was arrested in Nievre for having refused to be conscripted into the army, and was transferred to the Duplax barracks on February 19, 1986.

The address of his support committee:

Emancipation, 54105 Bayonne cedex, FRANCE.

ERIC HEBERT

Eric Hebert is a member of the Anarchist Federation who was arrested on February 5, 1985 for having refused to be conscripted into the army. His trial is expected to take place shortly. Petitions and support letters can be addressed to:

Comite de Soutien a Eric Hebert, U.P.F., B.P. 58, Darnet, France.

SOURCE: *Le Monde Libertaire*.

GREECE

COPS REALLY SCREW YOU UP

An interesting article recently published by the *Guardian* newspaper reported that 'local residents' had been arrested by cops after tackling drug dealers in Exarchia Square, Athens.

In fact, the eight people arrested were also anarchists fed-up with drug dealers after tackling drug dealers in Exarchia Square a meeting place for Athen's growing Anarchist community.

In response to police inaction over the problem of dealers in the area an anti-drug patrol was organised by anarchists and on Monday February 17th they dealt successfully with a heroin dealer and smashed up his car. Local police have

not only done nothing to deter dealers in the area but they are also known to protect dealers and push drugs themselves!

For using direct action against one dealer, the eight anarchists were arrested and put on trial two days later. Fortunately, all eight were found not guilty [possibly due to sympathetic coverage in the media] and immediately released. Police sell heroin, they don't deter dealers!

LATE NEWS: Eighteen anarchists and anti-fascists are due to be tried on March 10th for alleged involvement in anti-fascist actions in Athens in 1984, just before French fascist Le Pen visited Greece.

BE LGIUM

The Repression Continues

Forty eight arrests took place when approximately one hundred people held an illegal demonstration in support of Chantal Paternoster⁽¹⁾ in Brussels. Jean Louis Carpentier⁽²⁾, his sister and a fifteen year old youth were beaten and are still being held. The others were let out without being charged (although photographs and fingerprints were taken, which is technically illegal if no charges are laid). Later, the residence of a person present at the demonstration was searched.

Radio Air-Libre, a station at which Chantal was working, has become the object of a vehement campaign in certain sectors of the press, which have offered outrageously absurd evidence as proof in accusing it of being linked to the CCC. In a communication, Radio Air-Libre states: "To affirm that we

have been involved with the CCC, or

that we have a common strategy is a product of the violence of our ideas; it represents a deliberate attempt to criminalise any and all discordant voices and to discredit the work we have been carrying out on a daily basis to offer a free medium of expression" Radio Air-Libre has been searched once, and has been put off the air three times.

Support letters for Chantal and Radio Air-Libre can be addressed to the Minister of Justice by writing to: M. Jean Goll, Ministre de la Justice, Place Fockler, 1000 Bruxelles, Belgium.

1. Chantal Paternoster is an anarchist who is still being held in total isolation after having been falsely accused of being a member of the CCC - see Black Flag No. 147 & 149.

2. Jean Louis Carpentier was also falsely accused of being a CCC member (see BLACK FLAG No. 147) and was later released.

Information from *Le Monde Libertaire*

TIT DEOTS - WHERE THEY ARE

UNITED KINGDOM	BRISTOL	HORNSEY	NORTHAMPTON	BELGIUM	IRELAND	WEST GERMANY
ATHERSTON 102 Long Street, Birmingham Warwickshire	French Price Wood, Bull Road, Oldbury Bristol, BS07 6AB Tel: (0454) 323233 Tels: 44377	Unit 1402, Crawford Way Industrial Estate, Tottenham Lane, Hornsey, London N8 9EG. Tel: (01) 3607532 Tels: 268669/264999	29 Market Square, Northampton. Northampton. R.A.M.S.BOTHAM P.O. Box 4, Railway Street, Ramsbotham, Lancs. BL0 9AL. Tel: (07062) 7611 Tels: 6336	ANTWERP/BORNEUM (Head Office) Rijkswijk 16, 2600 Borneum, Cm. Dabla Tel: (03) 8095221 Telex: 23448	DUBLIN (Head Office) 15-16 Georges Place, Dublin 1, Tel: (01) 808564-80533 Telex: 20556 CORK Tel: (021) 803436 DUBLIN Tel: (01) 473799 GALWAY Tel: (091) 627291 LIMERICK Tel: (061) 43026 LONGFORD Tel: (032) 44889/41778 SLIGO Tel: (071) 667745	EMMERICH (Head Office) 15-16 Georges Place, Dublin 1, Tel: (032) 44889/41778 DORTMUND Tel: (0237) 57678
ABERDEEN The Quay, Newburgh, Ellis, Aberdeen, Glasgow A.M. 08N, Tel: (0346) 561 Tels: 739818	RYELEIGH Unit 7327, Brooklands Ind. Park, Oyster Lane, Biffers, Surrey KT3 0YU Tel: (0932) 53555 Tels: 935801	LEICESTER Unit 1402, Crawford Way Industrial Estate, Tottenham Lane, Hornsey, London N8 9EG. Tel: (01) 3607532 Tels: 268669/264999	RAMSBOTHAM P.O. Box 4, Railway Street, Ramsbotham, Lancs. BL0 9AL. Tel: (07062) 7611 Tels: 6336	BRUSSELS/NOVILLES Tel: (02) 7205948 KORTRIJK Tel: (060) 24222	AUGSBURG Tel: (082) 16935-14 BAYREUTH Tel: (0921) 65088-89 BERLIN Tel: (030) 7537087 BIELEFELD Tel: (0521) 33065 BREMEN Tel: (0421) 38071-75 DORTMUND Tel: (0237) 57678	EMMERICH (Head Office) 15-16 Georges Place, Dublin 1, Tel: (032) 44889/41778 DORTMUND Tel: (0237) 57678
BELFAST (Sales Office) TST EPIC, Cargill Centre 14 Belfast Road, Carrington, Co. Antrim BT79 4TQ Tel: (0232) 460-469 Tels: 74234	CANNOCK Unit 1402, Crawford Way Industrial Estate, Tottenham Lane, Hornsey, London N8 9EG. Tel: (01) 3607532 Tels: 268669/264999	LEICESTER Unit 1402, Crawford Way Industrial Estate, Tottenham Lane, Hornsey, London N8 9EG. Tel: (01) 3607532 Tels: 268669/264999	ROTHAM Unit 1402, Crawford Way Industrial Estate, Tottenham Lane, Hornsey, London N8 9EG. Tel: (01) 3607532 Tels: 268669/264999	PARIS (Head Office) 15-16 Georges Place, Dublin 1, Tel: (032) 44889/41778 SLIGO Tel: (071) 667745	EMMERICH (Head Office) 15-16 Georges Place, Dublin 1, Tel: (032) 44889/41778 DORTMUND Tel: (0237) 57678	EMMERICH (Head Office) 15-16 Georges Place, Dublin 1, Tel: (032) 44889/41778 DORTMUND Tel: (0237) 57678
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INDUSTRIAL

TNT HAS TO BE SMASHED

Continued from front page

are eagerly awaiting the outcome of TNT's Division 800 to see if the same strategy can be employed in their local fight with unions.

Elsewhere in the world TNT owns massive trucking and freighting concerns. These include Altrans (USA), Seafast International (USA), Tropas Freight (of Canada), Railfast (Canada), Pilot Freight (USA). — In Australia TNT owns the following subsidiaries: ASP Container Express, Union Bulkships Ltd, Queensland Bulk Handling Ltd, Atlas Offshore, Seateams Terminals Ltd, a new coal-loading facility on the Brisbane river and holiday complexes on Hayman Island (as well as Vanuatu, formerly the New Hebrides). TNT is also involved in refrigerated transportation, waste and rubbish disposal, etc. Future TNT plans for Britain include the purchase of dock facilities, the setting up of a private postal system, the purchase of parts of British Rail, the setting up of local privatised rubbish collection facilities and the purchase of an airline company. In Australia TNT owns a huge chunk of Ansett Airlines, the not being owned by Rupert Murdoch. It is well known in business circles that Ansett's reward for helping out News International's in its distribution of cash papers was a promise from Murdoch that he could purchase his share of Ansett.

TNT CAN BE STOPPED!

TNT's anti-union activities has to be stopped by whatever means possible. While Murdoch is the prime mover in the exercise to sack over 5000 print workers from their jobs (preparing the way for demolishing the print unions),

it is TNT who distribute the scab papers. TNT was crucial to Murdoch's plan from the beginning. Its recruitment of scab labour was begun well in advance of the advice given by Murdoch's solicitors to News International, that the printers should be provoked into strike action to allow Murdoch to sack them and thus take away their redundancy and pension rights.

TNT will not stop there. It is clearly TNT's objective to cooperate in the distribution of other newspapers that take up Murdoch's lead. Sure, there are other freight companies that will compete for those contracts, but TNT now have a reputation within industry as strike-breakers, which they will capitalise upon if they can.

DIRECT ACTION

Because TNT's activities are multinational, there the offensive against TNT must also be international, as well as national. TNT's depots cover Europe as well as Britain and trade unionists and labour activists in Europe have an important role to play.

Where TNT depots cannot be blockaded because of massive police action, then the trucks and offices and retail outlets will become targets instead. The number of incidents involving scab-busters attacking TNT vehicles, smashing their windshields and assaulting their drivers are becoming more frequent.

On another front too, print workers are preventing TNT from advertising in the media through for an essential part of TNT's media strategy. Print workers at *Freight News Express*, for example, have

refused to print the magazine while TNT ads are included. The magazine's management in turn refused to accede to a TNT request to seek a court injunction against the print workers on the grounds that advertising space can always be sold to someone else, and why should they risk union trouble anyway? TNT are reportedly extremely embarrassed by this secondary action and are hoping that other print workers on other trade papers where TNT advertise don't take similar action.

The action taken by print workers at *Freight News Express*, if supported by other print workers could well become the start of a campaign to prevent TNT from taking advertising anywhere. Not just in the trade press, but also in the national press, and even on television and radio. Print workers in Fleet Street and trade unionists working in radio and TV companies could ensure that. There will, of course, come a time when this secondary action would be outlawed by the courts, leaving unionists to decide whether to continue and face fines or sequestration. That point will either be the breaking point of the campaign to stop TNT advertising, or it will be the

beginning of the campaign's success.

On another front, TNT can be stopped — again through secondary action — by the effective blocking of essential supplies such as fuel, gas, electricity, water, etc.

All in all, the offensive against the distribution of News International's papers — whether by TNT or whether by any other haulage company — can be at least delayed, menaced up or sabotaged if effective action is continued by the print workers primarily involved and labour activists throughout the labour movement. The Strike Support Groups that evolved throughout the 1984/85 Miners Strike should organise, re-mobilise. Take direct action against their nearest TNT depot, as well as send regular contingents to Fortness Wapping and Kinning Park, Glasgow to add to the growing numbers on the picket lines. News International papers outside newspapers are, unfortunately, to be found in most high streets of most cities and towns.

The dispute is winnable, but without solid support it could become another turning point in the battle to crush any organised working class resistance to the State and employer's exploitation.



ARGENTINA CAR WORKERS TAKE CONTROL

In Black Flag No. 137 we reported that Ford car workers at the Gral. Panchenco plant (Buenos Aires) had gone on strike in response to the sacking of 33 workers, (with a further 338 redundancies to follow) in early July 1985. Since then we have received more detailed information on the strike and its consequences. We reproduce below the main facts behind the strike.

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

In early July the management at Ford's Gral. Panchenco plant announced its intention to sack immediately 33 workers despite previous assurances that no workers would be sacked that month. Workers at the plant organised a mass meeting in response to the provocative

action of the management and unanimously decide to go on strike and occupy the factory, much to the dismay of SMATA (the largest union in the plant) and the CGT (a peronist union).

The Ministry of Employment swiftly declares the strike illegal. The Church even steps in to try and avoid any type of confrontation between workers and management. It calls for a 'conciliation of the classes'. The mass media (newspapers, TV and radio) all denounce the strikers as irresponsible.

On the positive side, workers at factories nearby, neighbourhood and political groups, including anarchists, all come out in support of the strike.

On July 10th these days after the strike, workers occupy the plant and decide to re-start production using libertarian (ie non-bureaucratic) methods of work, no capitalist ones. This horrifies the state who accuse the workers involved of further illegal

action and respond by putting law 20840 into operation in the interest of 'national security'. President Raoul Alfonsín, Argentina's head of state, denounces the occupation and emphasises that such actions for Direct Action by workers and libertarian organisations in the workplace) cannot be tolerated anywhere in the world. George Shultz, North America's Secretary of State, backs up Alfonsín's statements by saying 'You can't help but admire the way Alfonsín has acted... Democracy has given Latin America a special power to combat communism and overcome economic difficulties' (July 5th 1985).

After nineteen days on strike the workers at Ford are forcibly evicted by 1200 police and the experiment in self-management is over.

The strike and occupation is far from a total failure. The minimum objective of the strike, to get management to reconsider the sacking of thirty-three workers, is achieved. A mass meeting called by workers after the occupation brings 3,000 workers together (out of a total workforce of 3,500). More importantly, the workers at Ford proved beyond a doubt that a work-place can be run efficiently on libertarian lines without any preparatory of 'transitional' period.

Source: La Protesta.

1. Law 20840 was also the law used by Argentina's military junta between 1976-1981 to justify its policy of worldwide against political opponents resulting in 30,000 people murdered.

Additionally, the pamphlet offers a contact network, whereby workers wanting contact with others can be given the names of strike leaders in their area. The *Cervical Strick, With It's All by Ros Kane-Strick Network, 15 Matham Road, London E11 £2 plus 25p p.p.k.*

MINERS NEWS

MINES CHIEFS DEMAND PAY CUT

Mineworkers at the slate mines in Blaenau Ffestiniog, North Wales, have been on strike since last August, 1985 demanding better bonus schemes payments. The bosses have been insisting on a 40% increase in output, but are refusing to provide bonus payments to supplement the meagre take-home pay, averaging £70 per week. In fact the bonus payments are actually being reduced by £28 per week, as part of a 'cost cutting' exercise. The workers are all members of the Transport and General Workers Union, which eventually made the strike 'official'.

The employers, Owen Glyn Williams and his brother Eloff, have refused to negotiate on the matter even though the strikers have offered to go back to work without any rise in productivity pay. Virtually all those who work at the mine have solidly stayed out (only six have seceded).

Financial assistance for the strikers has been good with Strike Support groups set up in the coal mining valleys of the South. Food was sent up at Christmas in van of the Miners Lodge in the Cymon Valley — turkeys were sent from the Ammanford Lodge; more financial support has come from Fleet Street print workers, strikers from Cardiff as well as members of the Swedish union SAC. At the local super-markets at Blaenau, collections for the miners are made regularly and the local Miners Support group has consistently provided support from the beginning. So far, because the strike involves only about fifty workers, the State has not got stuck in to criminalise their action; nor have the courts been used to force an end to the dispute. But time may be running out: eighteen strikers have been sacked so far. Financial aid would not go amiss. If you happen to be in the area, don't forget to drop by to lend a hand.



STITCH NETWORK

Each year between three and four thousand cervical stitch operations are performed in this country to prevent miscarriages in women who have previously lost babies in

mid-pregnancy, normally due to an incompetent cervix yet little has been written about the cervical stitch. Now Ros Kane has taken the initiative away from the medical profession by collecting the detailed accounts of 146 women who between them have had 231 stitches.

HAITI - THE NAZI'S TOP DOG

Events moved rapidly in Haiti towards the end of the twenty-eight year reign of the Duvalier dynasty. After decades of slavery policed by State terror when an estimated 50,000 people were murdered.

While the Catholic Church hierarchy, white priests, middle-class and military dissenters complained, it was the poor, the slum dwellers who sparked the rebellions. The absence of an 'armed vanguard in the hills' or 'left-wing' Parties was not missed by the United States and French governments who hoped to douse the flames of revolt by removing the fat little dictator before he was engulfed. As we go to press Liberia was declared as too dangerous and the US won't have him and the French now want him to leave, like a hot potato he is being passed around.

Drought, deforestation and pestilence as well as the country's dependence on banana and coffee compounded poverty. Until the current AIDS panic, human blood was exported to the USA for use in transfusions.

'Haiti for the Haitians'

Papa Doc used race, Black nationalism - Africanism ('voodoo' roots) etc., to keep out foreign investors and 'mulattoes' from political power sharing and the black masses on the side through the Tonton Macoutes killers, his personal militia. At one time in the 1960's the US Kennedy administration tried to oust him, thinking he had served his anti-communist bulwark but was going a bit far with the death squads, frightening the tourists (as Graham Greene's novel made into a Hollywood movie *The Comedian* portrayed) etc.

When his father died, 'Baby' Doc took State power's helm. He let in foreign investors, married a 'mulatto', expelled his mother and cracked the previously solid monolith of Duvalier authority by setting rival factions competing against each other for his favours and power. His wife Michele, now one of the wealthiest women in the world, became a conspicuous spender, shopping in France for jewels, clothes and got together the biggest collection of furs in the Caribbean. Meanwhile the formerly quiet and mostly loyal poor starved at subsistence farm or got low wages working for US 'off-shore' light industries, the Government, US 'aid' agencies or the Army, the biggest area of the economy. Corruption grew as money value fell and wiped out the savings of those with them and pushed prices up. In 1976, just 1700 miles from Miami resembles the drought stricken Sahel in West Africa. It never seemed to receive any 'aid' due to corruption. A Supply by the Red Cross of food was sold for new weapons for use by the renamed Volunteers for National Security, the Tonton Macoutes (translates as Kill and Go!).

Gonaves Rebellion Grows

In 1983 an anti-government demonstration took place in Gonaves which was ruthlessly suppressed - people 'disappeared'. Gonaves was where the bandits and eighty years ago slaves rose up and declared their independence from France.

In April 1985, due to US pressure for 'human rights' (Reagan's advisors fear of Cuba getting involved as it was only fifty miles away, despite the Cubans lack of interest in Haiti to date.) Baby Doc permitted some political parties and a few reforms. An exile group who had made a landing from Florida, were caught with weapons and killed.

In June 1985, protest marches planned were banned. Six editors of the opposition magazine *L'Infernal* were arrested for calling a boycott of the coming 'Referendum for Democracy'.

In July 1985, hundreds of people at gun-point were forced to vote several times in the 'referendum' which the Government 'supervised' and claimed 99.98% (1) voted to back Duvalier as President for life.

In August 1985, the National Progressive Party benefits from 'liberalisation', it was the first officially recognised in 'loyal' opposition.

In September 1985, a meeting at which the opposition was to speak is banned anyway.

In October 1985, demonstrations occur in the cities that are organised by the dwellers against price rises, food and petrol shortages.

On November 1985, more demonstrations occur until the 27th, with more people joining in including subsistence farmers and school students. Four youths killed as police break up crowds chanting 'down with the Constitution' (Duvalier is President for life, and can choose his successor) and 'Down the Misery'. Next day schools are boycotted and fearing repression an exodus from the town occurs.

On December 15th 1985, a Gonaves School Principal is arrested and beaten to death in police custody. All newspapers are silent on events, the Catholic *Radio Soleil* is closed down for a number of days. The Government orders schools closed.

News spreads by word of mouth now. Duvalier sends a minister off to the USA as the Reagan administration threatens to cut off aid unless stability returns. Various support groups arise, some early as Duvalier reshuffles his Cabinet in an attempt to appease protesters and the US governors.

January 4th and 7th 1986 see yet more protests in Gonaves involving more people. 'Revolt' is openly shouted in the streets and troops called on to 'Mute' it. A baker in his twenties is murdered by the police.

January 11th 1986, in Port au Prince the capital, tracts calling for a general strike 'operation uproot' are circulated,

with small response. Duvalier admits to holding six political prisoners. The pseudo liberalisation is not working, demonstrations occur in more and more towns. The State informers and police cannot lead leaders.

January 20th 1986, slum dwellers try to march on the US Marine built Presidential Palace and are beaten back by Army using gas and volleys rifle fire. Fanning, the Government arrests a militia chief and accuses him of murdering the youths in Gonaves in December. Graffiti appears calling for 'Food, Justice and Freedom'.

Twelve hundred tourists and holiday-makers arrive at a newly built resort at Labadee near Cap Haitien called by locals Appartehville. In Cap Haitien itself there are riots over unemployment and police repression. The Tonton Macoutes are to be officially 'abolished' (to appease Washington image makers and locals), but the Government strengthens the Army's anti-subversion Leopard force. The two hundred set get Millionaires of Port au Prince began looking for better climates and the flow of capital from the country begins in earnest. Already the Duvaliers have got overseas at least \$400 Million. A promise of 'elections' to be held in 1987 is made. The Government is to be elected. Prime Minister who must swear allegiance to Duvalier as President for life. Protest by Haitians in exile in Florida, US occupy



Our Doc who art in the National Police for life, hallowed be Thy name by prayer and future generations. From Duvalierised Lord's Prayer.

Going Going Gone

Through Radio Soleil etc. the Catholic Church tries to encourage the State to evolve into a direction of use to itself, but refrains from ousting their own corrupt leader, who is the cousin of the State's head non-violence. With its origins in a slave army the roots are returned too and blood shed starts on the State for a change.

The US Government claims that Baby Doc has fled the country, causing premature celebrations everywhere. Duvalier goes on TV and Radio to say he has not left and declares a state of siege. Celebrations turn into rioting, burning and looting as militia and army shoot it out with the snipers and angry crowds. Estimates of four hundred people murdered by the State are common, many 'disappeared'.

Embarrassed, the US cuts off aid, as in Haiti, Government officials are razed to the ground as locals take over their towns and barricade highways between regions.

At 4am on February 7th a US Special C-141 Transport plane (unmarked and in darkness) took Duvalier, his wife and an entourage of twenty two thugs and left, out of Haiti finally landing in Glenbeah, Ireland. He expected to stay for a week and face demonstrations outside his Alpine hotel everyday.

Celebrations, a sign of the premature downfall of Duvalier a week previous, occurred all over Haiti. In Boston, exiles stormed the Haitian consulate burning flags and portraits of Baby Doc. In Miami a gigantic statue of Papa Doc, the Jamaican Minister of Social Security, the Neville Giamelle, a personal friend of Baby Doc is thought to be the one who persuaded him to flee for his own life.

Crowds soon turned on those Tontons who had not managed to escape to the Dominican Republic or to better offshore. In some homes they were also targeted by locals. A man re-train of Papa Doc's son, Jean-Claude Duvalier, was taken to a house and put on display, as the heads of rebels decapitated before.

The Army, feared by the rebels as a source of mutiny, accepted a role of new police-force channeling the violence so as to direct it for their own ends. The Government was formed, mostly of old Duvalierists, headed by Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, chief of the armed forces and military. The tomb of Papa Doc was bequeathed, and the remains of lots of graves were dug up and buried.

Duvalier, in a recorded message squeezed in between Mickey Mouse cartoons, expressed on TV saying he was handing over power to the Army.

The sudden crocodile tears of the US and French Governments over Haitian human rights - why did they not interfere before? - is as strange as the silence of the 'communists' of Cuba. Could it be that all States, no matter who runs them, fear any revolution which once begun may not always be controlled. Duvalier had to be taken out because he was visibly losing his grip, powerless, without friends (save those he can pay off) or money now to pay, Zia, Pinochet and others remain in power because their control stops them from being despotic protesters, so they strike. It is clearly revolutionary violence which pushes over regimes as an act of rebellion. After the State reserves the violence for the property of the State or it heads. After the State reserves the violence for the property of the State or it heads. After the State reserves the violence for the property of the State or it heads. After the State reserves the violence for the property of the State or it heads.

In Haiti, one hundred years after they threw out their first black masters and became the first successful black slave revolt, the spirit of the revolution is still there. After the revolution it is barely started! It is not over yet. A second revolt against the military itself, or a mutiny by a section of it may occur.

The 15,000 six-month contract labourers who were sent to slave plantations in the Republic cutting cane, are now not wanted. How are they and others to live? In 1915 US Marines were sent in by President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam was torn apart by a crowd of killing. Five hundred and sixty were sent to the prisoners. The occupation lasted twenty years. Haiti may not be as easy to take as Grenada though it is still in a pro-relationship to the Dominican Republic and Jamaica may start a chain reaction in the island chain itself.

DEATH SQUADS LINKED TO SPANISH POLICE

More evidence has come our way of collaboration between Spain's para-military police, the Guardia Civil, and neo-nazi terrorists.

The new information has come from Jose Luis Cervero, an ex-Guardia Civil member who gave up his job in 1982 after seven years in Goss. (The 'Action Commando' of the Secret Service information branch of the Guardia Civil). Cervero claims that his work changed dramatically from spying on 'subversives', espionage against political parties and planning microphones for trade union offices to blatant state terrorist operations under the new leadership of General Santamaría, Lieutenant Colonel and General Catinello.

The first terrorist act masterminded by the new Guardia Civil leadership was the kidnapping and torture of Martinez Soler, an editor of *Dobson* magazine. A low-ranking Guardia Civil (till working today) was later implicated in this plot along with a neo-nazi called Gausa y Sierra. Gausa y Sierra went on to murder Arturo Ruiz, a communist, who was arrested. He eventually escaped from prison with the help of friends in the Guardia Civil.

In 1980 General Santamaría was

appointed Guardia Civil Governor of the Basque region of Spain and Catinello became head of the Guardia Civil's General Staff in Bilbao (the Basque capital city). Spain's Basque region has its own language, culture and independent movement. It is a highly sensitive area with a history of armed and political resistance. Kidnapping and bombings increased dramatically from 1980 onwards on both sides.

Cervero claims that GOSI blew up several hundred pillars and later blamed the bombings on the Basque nationalist armed group. GOSI also sent letter bombs in marzipan tins to several industrial bosses to be paying I.E.A. 'revolutionary' taxes. Santamaría is also accused of letting up the terrorist organisation ATE (Anti-terrorist Army Group Staff while 'Group 2' ETA) was known to have assassinated several ETA members. Two other similar organisations active at the same time, 'Group 1' and 'Group 2', also freely collaborated with the Guardia Civil.

'Group 1' was controlled by Spain's Army General Staff while 'Group 2' received its orders direct from the government. It was in this latter group that several Italian neo-nazi (Della Chiesa,

Calzona, Vianotti, Catinello and Concellini) were involved along with ex-members of the OAS (Chadian, Eritrean and Argentinian) and the Basque. They were free from the threat of extradition as long as they agreed to carry out 'dirty' work 'on behalf of the intelligence services'.

Catinello is also suspected of taking part in the murder of four lawyers at Atocha (Madrid) in 1977. Two nazi, Garcia Julia and Mariano Sanchez, Goss (head of the fascist 'Guerrillas of Christ the King' group) but they claim that a Guardia Civil, Arturo Prieto, carried out the massacre and supplied the guns. Ironically, state terrorism has increased since the socialist government took power. In October 1983 a new State-funded terrorist group 'GAL' was founded under Catinello's control (see BLACK FLAG 140 for details). 'GAL' has so far assassinated over 20 ETA members and there is little sign of it stopping its murderous activities.

That governments are responsible for setting up terrorist groups is not news to anarchists. It is, however, news to the majority of people and as time goes on, governments will find it more and more difficult to hide the truth.

ANARCHIST THEATRE

ON THE LIVING THEATRE



Julian Beck, the anarchist co-founder of the Living Theatre died recently in New York city. Michel Mattieu is a founding member of the Theatre de L'Acte, which put on the play *Tout Homme* (Everyman) in conjunction with the Living Theatre in 1969. The interview with Michel is taken from the French anarchist journal *Agora* Libertaire.

Agora: To what extent has the Living Theatre modified theatrical method?
MM: Between 1967 and 1974, for many independent groups, the Living Theatre was a true inspiration because the American group found itself at the precise crossroads of two historical forces: on the one hand, an internal revolution in theatre circles which consisted of a reassessment essentially based on the work of Brecht and Artaud; on the other, a worldwide political, moral and cultural protest movement which appeared to signal the end of the 'old world'...

The group was exemplary, because during a certain period it was truly able to link demands and unfocused revolutionary desires which were present in millions of people with the creation of a theatrical language that removed all the added accretions, and attempted to renew contact with its essence. From our perception of the Living Theatre, this represented a desire to create a human community which was revolutionary in its internal functioning, and libertarian in its insistence on focussing society as a whole's attention on all the sources of domination, violence and exploitation.

In 1969, the example set by the Living Theatre gave us the courage to sever our personal ties with society in order to define ourselves collectively. We then set up our own community at the 'Chateau de Persin-Bas', and apart from the performances from which we earned our living, we were involved in many types of 'street' or intervention theatre' which were linked to the social

movement. This was our first 'debut' to the Living Theatre.

In the realm of theatrical practice itself, the Living Theatre, or more precisely Jo, who was later the founder of the Open Theatre, taught us a series of exercises that are designed to free the actor's spontaneity and develop his/her corporal imagination, and to favour collective creation.

The Living Theatre also represented the 'blue jean method', in other words establishing a more direct contact with the public by avoiding everything that can be considered theatrical 'accessories': costumes, lighting and scenery. The Living Theatre in this sense was on the same path as Grotowski, another great innovator.

Agora: Is the Living Theatre style still possible in 1986?

MM: Certainly not the Living Theatre style precisely, because there has been a 'Living Theatre style', one which was a la mode, a code which became just as restrictive as those which preceded it. On the pretext of attempting to involve the public, or in the search for a cry of revolt, all kinds of performances which were total failures began to appear. What had been a profound exploration for the Living Theatre, at the same time personal, very concrete, involving and dangerous, has since often been taken as a collection of recipes. It ended up as a 'genre', and when something becomes a genre it can already be said that what was alive has departed.

The Living Theatre itself, in this sense, after their period in Brazil (the 1974 Seven Meditations), let itself be trapped in an image, or rather in a fourierist discourse which in effect had little to do with theatrical practice. The miraculous artistic/political convergence which had been the group's revolutionary strong point was no longer present. The discourse which remained was very far removed from concrete social situations and the public's everyday experiences. At least this seemed to be the public's reaction in France.

After a series of ups and downs, the Theatre Liberaire de Paris has found a new home in the Dejazet theatre, a nineteenth century theatre which is one of the most attractive in Paris. Comfortable seats, a spacious stage with a red and black background and two balconies provide a warm atmosphere. The sound and visual quality is irreproachable, allowing the audience to appreciate the performance to the fullest extent.

In the last two months, the exterior has been redone in the original style and the interior has been entirely renovated.

For libertarians, culture, art and education have always played an important role. But if they have received widespread attention, a distinction has always been drawn between the demand for free expression and Culture (with a capital C). In effect, present day so-called art is usually synonymous with bourgeois art, whether within an educational framework, serving as a social reference point, or when it is applied to the notion of the 'masterpiece' (an arbitrary and dogmatic concept). 'Culture' owes its meaning and importance to the fact that it dissolves political and social boundaries (the *Demoli Rooker*).

The demand for free artistic and cultural action is equivalent to an ongoing attempt to free ourselves from the misery of daily life. Culture thus becomes a conscious act, which is continually manifested in our everyday activities. Most cultures have now dis-

appeared, 'replaced' by the pounding of the media; they have become more and more something which is imposed.

The TLP-Dejazet represents a libertarian search for a true culture, and will present performers who are at ease in communicating emotion. We also wish to support music (which does not emphasize form to the detriment of content). In a music hall tradition, 'American' and 'English' style opening acts will also be presented, allowing the audience to discover little or unknown performers.

Independent of the monthly schedule, the TLP on Mondays will provide a trampolines for singers, musicians and groups. To begin the season on the right note, the inaugural evening will feature Leo Ferra (1).

The Theatre Liberaire de Paris.
 Translated from *Le Monde Liberaire* No. 603
 by M.W.

TLP-Dejazet,
 41, boulevard du Temple, 75003 PARIS
 FRANCE Tel. 48 87 97 34

Reservations are available at:
 Librairie Publie, 145 rue Amelot,
 75003 Paris FRANCE.

(1) Leo Ferra is an anarchist singer-songwriter who is very popular in France and French speaking countries.

A friend just back from France informs us that the TLP is off to a very good start and is attracting two hundred or more people for every performance.

TLP DEJAZET

The group then put on Brecht's *Antigone*. Despite the death of Beck, perhaps the group will reach their former level and find new sources of inspiration.

But in the case of the Living Theatre, it isn't as much questions of form that is important. What remains just as relevant today in my opinion is how demanding they were, because they were saying that theatre is an act which involves a group of actors directly with the public, and involves the individual actor in her/his entirety: physically, emotionally, mentally, philosophically and through the actors political decisions.

The actions and ideas of the Living Theatre are well worth evoking considering today's theatre climate, which usually consists of confining Performances are thought of as finished products designed to dazzle in a saturated market. In a period in which an onslaught of racist and chauvinist tendencies is competing to fill

a political void, the Living Theatre represents what is fundamentally healthy... a gut reaction to the rampant anarchy that is the true character of the infamous 'consensus'.

Agora: Can the theatre be an important means of revolutionary communication?
MM: That's a really theoretical question! No revolutionary practice without revolution. In classical political terms in this sense, it seems very hard to find a revolutionary project. Perhaps it is more appropriate to speak of what is below the surface; it may be that the revolutionary movement is pursuing a course which is outside the critique of the classical theoreticians. On the other hand, perhaps we will escape the capitalism/terrorism predicament through a new approach, which will give a true coherence to revolutionary initiative.

Personally, I'm very pessimistic, but I know that like myself thousands of other people refuse; behind this there must be an energy which can open possibilities if theatre is linked to a palpable revolutionary movement. I believe that it can represent an important means of revolutionary communication.

Lacking this it can at least serve as a cleansing act, in other words that it can help to free us from what is imposed by the dominant ideology. But to do this, it will first have to set its own house in order.

Important? Yes, because theatre is an unmediated relation, one that is direct, unique and in a sense archaic. Paradoxically, this is what is most promising in a situation in which mediation is becoming more and more the norm. Theatre remains a medium for direct contact. This is its importance, and the goal theatre should always set for itself.

Interview by Claude Aron, Translated by M.W. The address of the Theatre de L'Acte is: 32, rue des Blanchers, 75001 Toulouse, FRANCE.



FEEDBACK

LETTERS

We got a letter from someone saying 'It's a good paper, I remember when Freedom was a weekly and now you're outdoing them' who goes on to raise a subject which needs to be aired.

You don't seem to recognise that some Anarchists (perhaps a small minority) are anti-abortion, without supporting any laws. It is Authoritarian to deny unborn humans their very life. And to state that a child is not a person simply due to its location (inside the womb or out) is blatant nonsense. Biologically a member of the species Homo-Sapiens - a human is a human from conception onwards. It's weird for Anarchists to side with the pro-

RECEIVED

abortionists such as Adolf Hitler, Stalin, Margaret Sanger (a racist - founder of planned parenthood), etc.
For Life and Freedom
Billy.

Firstly let us clear some myths to set aside the 'guilt by association'. Hitler was not 'pro-abortion' but faithfully followed the 'Catholic Line' on abundant births, in the case of Germans of Aryan Nordic birth. His views on sterilisation of the unfit and prevention of non-Aryan births notwithstanding. In the new Soviet Union, Church views on birth were enthusiastically thrown off, to be reintroduced by Stalin who also wanted to have plenty of cannon fodder and, unlike Hitler, had no racial

theories.

Margaret Sanger might be termed a racist but to her, and in her day, 'racism' meant something quite different. She was not a hater of other races than her own; but like other contemporary eugenicists believed in 'improving the quality of the race'. Some racists made use of her theories but despite some erroneous ideas she was in her day a progressive fighter for the rights of women, particularly working class women to control their own bodies.

The idea that life begins at conception is purely a religious idea, and on it the Catholic Church in particular bases a lot of assumptions, some of which would never have been had women been in the priesthood. The Church has had to give way on several points involving contraception though it maintains its laws, knowing that they are ignored even by many of the faithful.

Neither Anarchists, nor most independent thinkers on the subject are 'pro-abortion' in the way the Catholic or religious influenced are 'anti-abortion'; they assert the right of women to have control of their own bodies, and once this is freely granted, conception would rarely follow, since unwanted pregnancies are largely the result of religious influences which, even now, frustrate contraception.

The libertarian conception of 'rights' is that they are taken; the authoritarian conception is that they are granted. The foetus can hardly be said to have 'rights' in the libertarian sense; if the mother has rights she can give birth or not as she chooses.

Economic security would probably mean that there would be fewer unwanted pregnancies anyway.

Abortion is not something that is desired or fought for - whereas anti-abortion is (because it justifies a religious prejudice) - but it is something a woman should decide for herself.

Dear Black Flag,

I'd like to suggest you run a series on the various British left groups and parties. The *Introduction to Modern Politics* was useful but, I felt, very generalised. You go into useful depth on various extreme right groups, but I think you tend to assume that people are already well up on the ideas and histories of the SWP, WRP, Militant, etc. I have a degree of knowledge of them but, as I say, I'd like some full-scale articles to increase my awareness.

As much as the Trotskyists, I want to learn more about the Stalinist NCP and those in the CP. I'm amazed and appalled at the way such people still go on about Russia as if it has a totally unblemished history and is a 'workers' paradise'. So if you do decide to run such a series I'd appreciate an attempt to deal with the psychological angle as well (ie, how can people comfortably accept or ignore the concentration camps, muzzled press and cultural life, denial of the right to strike, etc. in some countries, and yet protest vigorously about such things in others?).

Hope you find this a worthwhile suggestion. In a way, it's also an attempt to say the paper needs a bit more 'home' content as lately I've felt you have tended to cover foreign events rather more extensively than those here. That's certainly not meant as a chauvinist remark, but just to urge you to keep in mind a rough balance of the two (No. 147 is about right, in my view).

Yours in solidarity,

A.J.

Reply: The *Introduction to Modern Politics* was an effort in this direction, and we hope to do a series on the 'left' but would appreciate more insights from readers (I was a teenage Marxist! Shock Horror!). We received a letter from a comrade in Holland which requests we do a series on religions too; again, any help from atheist readers is welcome.

BOOK REVIEW

THE SELF DESTRUCTION SYNDROME - Steve Edwards.
Pub. The Book Guild Ltd. at £9.95.

Most books which attempt to peer into the future make a sort of leap from where we are to where the authors will imagine we will arrive. The future is broken from the present and therefore is that much more remote. Sometimes such works focus on new forms of society and means of living as a result of dramatic technological change and developments; the optimistic looks to a warm future wherein conflicts have been resolved.

The view this work takes of the future is disturbingly familiar: there is no break between the present and the future, all the events taking place in this 21st century world can be clearly seen as having their origins with our society. The book is distressingly plausible, and offers no brave new tomorrow, rather we have the venial environmental sins of today magnified

into the mortal sins of the next century. 'It's hell out there, you'll need oxygen to move about soon, come through the filter masks.' ... 'Simon sat down, Sulphur level is up eight per cent on last year and carbon fifteen.'

'They'll have to do something.' Paul said cheerfully.

'Why?'

'Well, they'll have to won't they... they

can't go on poisoning the atmosphere indefinitely.'

Many progressive people have a sort of innate belief that society has in its possession a safety valve which won't allow things to get too bad before the masses rise up and stop it. This book suggests that the earth could be on the point of torturous extinction and people would still continue to accept it.

'Perhaps they could call for an emergency debate on a government-backed de-pollution scheme. It did not matter that the ideas would not be carried through because they were not economically viable and their implementation would undermine the whole system. The important fact was that they were presented and that tens of millions would read and believe them.'

What if? has been asked before, this time it poses the sickening conjecture, if things don't get better and all the bad things continue to get worse, where will we arrive, what if acceptance of the powers that be continues, despite a world doing of forced consumerism, poverty and pollution? What if urban crime continues, and the permanent army of the unemployed become totally alienated from the minority working population?

This is not the future any of us want to see, but this book presents it as a plausible, and all too plausible possibility.

David Douglass

POETRY CORNER

HG CITY

If you go downtown just beware
there's a demonstration in the square
the boys in blue are everywhere

see the blacks in the park
hear the doors slam, hear the dogs bark
they're keeping the city safe after dark

the minister for corruption's working late
he wants a piece of the action in race 8
no s.p. here, he rings interstate

the blacks at surukun have to go
to keep big business on the go
while job gets shares in comalco

who was the bagman, who was the hitman
who were the frontmen,
who were the big men
in the national scam

hello, hello, is that you dear?
what's that clicking noise I hear?
walls have eyes and phones have ears

go to a dance to have some fun
here come the boys with their dogs and guns
they don't like punks, run Johnny, run

who's that knocking at the door
at 6am it must be the law
right, you know what we're looking for
a state of emergency for the 'boks
and then to show the workers who's boss
you think you've got rights,
they're already lost

so you don't want to know,
you've heard it all before
but if you cop this lot, you'll sure get more
where to now from 84?

Demonstrations are banned in Queensland Australia, meetings in Brisbane can take place in the city square supervised by cops there to prevent it becoming a march.

Aboriginal people and travellers gather in Musgrave Park until police clear them out.

SF Bookmakers for horseracing are not allowed in Queensland so bets are placed interstate to New South Wales.

Comalco is an aluminium corporation who used the State government to evict aboriginals from their homeland so bauxite can then be mined for a profit.

In the 1970's the South African Springboks rugby tour of Australia ended in tear gas and baton charges as anti-apartheid groups disrupted the tour and Joh Bjelke-Petersen the Premier declared a State of Emergency.

More recently, electricity workers who generate the State's supply had their union busted and many sacked. Individual workers face up to \$5,000 fine and jail for any industrial action at work, ie. go-slows or work to rule etc.

Born into a world of fear,
and isolation,
born into a world of war.
We cry in the darkness,
and consume the poison.
We feel the pain,
our fear is mutual,
our prison within this system.
No love, no freedom
within its framework -
Our vision lies outside
Where we can live and care.
We saw the seeds of peace
and learn to understand
Anarchy
we are not alone
our voices will not fade
we confront and question
our vision is absolute.

A.B. Nijmegen

